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857 868 up the yams that have been dug, the girls in carrying the harvest home.

241 Kwoma parents develop their children's interest in the work of gardening by setting aside a section of garden for each of them. The section is carefully marked off with bamboo poles laid end to end on the ground, and its produce is put in a separate bin in the family storehouse as the child's private property.

857 868 [252] Children do not participate in the process of extracting flour from the pith of the sago palm. This is a task which requires the coöperation of one man and one woman, and the technique has been so worked out that a third person would be a nuisance rather than a help. Children often go with their parents and watch, but do not actually crush or wash the pith until they are big enough to do the whole job, that is, not until adolescence.

[224] [962] Hunting is restricted entirely to men. Boys begin as soon as they reach the status of childhood, chiefly killing snakes and lizards. They usually kill these animals with sticks or stones, but sometimes capture them with a noose tied to the end of a stick, an implement which they manufacture themselves. [411] Bows and arrows are known to the Kwoma, but they are poorly constructed and rarely used. [223] A boy's father usually makes him a small bow and some bird darts, and the boy then tries stalking birds. He never attempts a shot unless he can get within a few feet of the bird, and even then the poorly constructed arrow shot from a crude bow is likely to go wide of the mark. Despite the poorness of the weapons, [224] some boys become remarkably adept at stalking. Mes, an adolescent who had won a name for himself as a good stalker, [125] became my shoot boy. He had, of course, never fired a gun in his life, but I instructed him in its use and he took about a dozen practice shots at a target. On his first foray for pigeons he brought down three with only four shells.

[224] [411] It is not until adulthood that a Kwoma may become a hunter of big game. A child is taught a healthy respect for wild pigs, and is not allowed to play with a spear, the principal hunting and fighting weapon, as it is considered too

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dangerous. Children compensate for the taboo against the use of real spears by playing several dart-throwing games. A favorite sport of this type consists in tossing a pawpaw* up a slope and attempting to transfix it with a sharpened bamboo dart as it bounds down. In another common game, children toss a rock into the air and try to hit it with stones before it falls to the ground. As a result of such games, they become very adept at hitting moving objects, a habit which stands them in good stead when they become old enough to go pig-hunting.

Kwoma children participate in caring for the domesticated animals of their parents. They are given a small pig of their own to tend which they must feed, habituate to the dwelling, and teach to come at their call. Parents often give their child a puppy to pet and care for. A child calls his pets by the kinship term for *son* or *daughter;* the other members of the family refer to the pet by kin terms which accord with this relationship.

Fishing is considered by the Kwoma rather as a sport than as a serious activity. Girls participate in what little is done, often simply scooping fish from a swamp pool or mountain stream with their hands. Although men do not deign to waste their time fishing, boys sometimes accompany their mothers and sisters to the stream and join in the fun. Even as children, however, they feel that they somewhat demean themselves by doing this.

Children watch their parents make tools but do little such work themselves. Boys sometimes help their parents by fetching materials for various utensils, and girls begin netting bags before they reach adolescence, but otherwise toolmaking is restricted to older persons.

In general, the Kwoma child discovers that it is necessary to work to get food, and learns, in part by observation and in part by participation, the techniques that have been developed in the culture for producing it. He is forced to assume responsibility for some of this work, is allowed to help with

* A tropical fruit about the size, shape, and consistency of a small muskmelon.

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A variety of tools are required for special purposes in various aspects of the Kwoma economics. Spears,[10] sago scrapers, dippers, gruel mixers, bamboo water containers, and digging sticks are made by men and kept for repeated use. The sago washing outfit is assembled by the man from the materials at hand in the swamp and abandoned when the site is moved. A man constructs the pole used to hang up yam stringers from a bamboo section marker and replaces it when he is through. The men make, decorate, and harden by fire the clay pots used for cooking. All these tools and utensils are necessary to the economic activities in which they are used so that the functions and sanctions which pertain to these activities also apply indirectly to the manufacture of the tools. In addition to this, a man who does not make the necessary tools is directly criticized for his negligence by his relatives. Furthermore, a good toolmaker not only gains prestige for his dexterity, but is also able to trade any surplus of neatly made permanent tools for goods or services.

Fish is the only food product which the Kwoma obtain primarily by trade from other tribes.[11] The river natives catch a surplus of fish, whereas the Kwoma produce a surplus of sago flour. On the other hand, the river tribes do not control large enough sago swamps for their needs, nor have the Kwoma developed adequate fishing techniques.[12] A regular exchange of these products therefore takes place between the Kwoma and the river people, particularly those from the villages of Yambon, Malu, and Avatip. The women of both groups do the trading, the men going to the market only for the purpose of gossiping and in the hope of making a tryst.[13] A Kwoma girl may attend these trading meetings during childhood; she participates in them during adolescence; as

[10] The pig spear used for hunting is somewhat heavier and constructed somewhat differently from the spear used in war.

[11] Shell money, tools, and pigs are sometimes exchanged between the Kwoma and adjacent tribes. Men carry on this type of trade.

[12] Canoes are employed by the river natives for fishing. The Kwoma had only one canoe, which was so badly constructed that it could scarcely be used. Very few of the natives knew how to paddle it.

[13] In the days before the tribes were brought under control, each market was attended by armed men to prevent a possible head-hunting assault.

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do not wish the controversy to continue to such a point that they will be forced to break these relationships. These persons, if the aggression has adhered to custom, will point out that the victim received what he deserved and will suggest that the matter be closed. If the aggressor demands compensation, it is these persons who bring pressure to bear upon the victim to pay it. If, however, the aggressor's behavior has been disproportionate, if his reaction to some minor threat imposed by a non-relative has exceeded the bounds of custom, then the situation is reversed. Public opinion swings in favor of the victim. If the aggressor has been exceedingly disproportionate in his aggression, his own relatives may even withdraw their support from him, and he is then forced to leave the tribe to escape retaliation from the victim and his relatives.

The Kwoma court system provides a formalized mode of settling disputes between non-relatives.[47] The court may meet to settle any disagreement, whether it be over property, sex, or sorcery. Only adult males attend the meetings, which are held at a house tamberan, usually a neutral one. The men convene in the morning carrying spears and wearing bone daggers. When everyone has arrived, the most important man of the hamlet in which the meeting is being held stands and states the purpose of the meeting and his view of the case. When he has finished speaking, someone else will stand and state his opinion. Then another presents his views. Thus the meeting progresses. A man's speech usually starts with an exoneration of himself and his relatives and ends with an accusation of someone else. While making a speech a man stamps his feet on the ground, brandishes a spear or dagger, and speaks loudly, often raising his voice to a shout. Sometimes, when someone has made a particularly pointed accusation, the accused will rise and stand facing his accuser. Each may draw his dagger, stand close to his opponent, reach over the other's shoulder and make jabbing movements at his back, shouting insults and threats. It is particularly im-

[47] Disputes which only concern relatives are settled at similar but less formal meetings at the local house tamberan.

October 25, 1936.

101 619 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numau, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726A large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [511] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [266] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberams and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

I noticed some spears
353 411 [239] on a rack just under the ridgepole. There was one larger than the rest and ornamented with cockatoo feathers. It was not an ordinary pig spear, but used only to kill men. I had Mar take it down, and we went back to our house with it where I took a picture of Mar about to hurl it at an imaginary enemy.

619 586 [721] Earlier in the afternoon we heard someone yelling from a distance. The boys about the house answered it and told us that the Tangwishamp had stolen a Waskuk woman. There was some excitement about this. They said that in the days before the white government, this would have meant a fight, but that now, if the report turned out to be true, they would "make court" against the culprits at Ambunti. This morning, as far as we could make out, the story was not true. It seems rather that the Tangwishamp are sending back a Waskuk woman whom one of them had married. She is for some reason unsatisfactory to them. This seems to be accepted by the Waskuk as a perfectly justifiable action.

124 [126] November 20, 1936. A week ago we told the Waskuk that we would like some of the "savvy talks" to come around during the day, and we would pay them as informants. Until then we have worked with them only when they have happened around; the rest of the time we've worked with the kids who are always around the house. As a result of this call at least one of them has been at our house almost every day from breakfast until bed time, and we are nearly swamped trying to keep up with what they have to say. We are trying to organize our information as we go along rather than leave it in the form of raw notes. As a result it seems to take a great while to record very little, but this seems to be the only way to know where we stand and what questions to ask. During the past few days we have been working on the kinship system. It is not complete, and there are probably mistakes in it. We have also collected miscellaneous bits of information on history,--they have migrated a short distance a few generations ago; headhunting and cannibalism--one

412 [482] The stone adze is the most all-important tool and is usually carried about over the shoulder wherever a man may go. Other tools are a hafted hardwood pestle for crushing sago pith, pig's tooth scrapers and engraver, 323 bird bone needle, bamboo knife, coconut shell dipper, etc. Pottery is made 286 by the coiled method without kick. Net bags are made from bark string. There is 285 no basketry. A rectangular engraved wooden shield or an oval pigskin 714 shield is used in war. A pointed bamboo spear is used for hunting both 411 heads and pigs, the cassowary bone dagger for a hand to hand struggle.

291 301 Clothing for both sexes is nil. Ornaments consist of feathered plumes, bamboo combs, nose plugs of dogs teeth or bamboo, shell necklaces, and plaited leg and arm bands.

304 Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced but not extended, and the septum pierced. The alae of men are usually pierced in addition. Both sexes are cicitrized with a bamboo knife, the men have two half moons cut just above each nipple, the women a circular design around the navel.

[881] (Boys are initiated into manhood by having their tongues and penises slashed.)

836 584 The only restriction to premarital sexual intercourse is that it is carried on as a sort of intrigue unknown to the parents. The girl takes the initiative in this as she does in the proposal of marriage. (This does not include infant betrothal which takes place in only part of the marriages).

848 847 845 In the case of an illegitimate birth, the child is adopted or killed. One of twins or a monstrosity meets the same fate... There is bride price, patrilocal

583 591 611 595 794 marriage, patrilineal decent, polygyny.

There is a cult of all adult men, whose esoteria are carved and painted figures, the blowing of sacred flutes and the beating of gongs. There are

[532] [534] two progressive stages to this cult. The first step of these is either minisma or yenema; half the youths being introduced into one, and half into the other, placement being determined partly by patrilineal inheritance and

439 This morning just after dawn Sow went by in a hurry with cuscus fur
628 on his head and carrying two spears. Soon afterward, the gongs at Wenya
532 began the assembly call. This kept up for about fifteen minutes, several
534 gongs going at once and cries of Ha yano. The house boys did not know what it meant. Hay ran down to ask Wof who said that they were beating a "tunket" with Tangwishamp to exchange sugilawas (carved wooden figures). A few minutes later a very high-toned gong sounded, and they all jumped at this and ran out of the house saying that it was the "garamut bilong fight". Wof was coming up the hill and reassured them it was only the 'tunket' for exchange of sugilawas. Later (10:00) we heard distant gongs play the dance rhythm. Has and Qwiyap said that the meeting of Tangwishamp and Hongwan would take place at Hdowey house tamberan at Wambanj. (This morning they had said, convincing us it was not a fight, that had it been, there would have been many more people running by with spears. Everybody would have gone).

123 Afalawanj came in this morning and sold me a clay bird.
439 February 20, 1937. Tip left three days ago. War and Kar came around in the
114 evening. War had rubbed clay on his forehead which he explained he put
302 there because he was sorry Tip had gone. While they were here someone
123 called out from Wenya. They listened and then went out to where they could
437 hear better. Kumb had come too. The Wenya said that the Tangwishamps were bringing a pig in the next day and wanted to know if Hongwan wanted
[435] part of it. Wof joined in the discussion from his house. They decided they didn't want it because the Tangwishamp prices were too high.

628 The next day in the afternoon the Tangwishamps began drifting in;
[411] about a dozen men and women came and stopped in to look at our house. They
[412] carried no weapons except an occasional bone dagger or adze. They slept

754 755 all the men suspected of poisoning to blow on a leaf. If the man does not do this, it is proof of his guilt. If he is the poisoner and does this, the sick person will recover.

593 March 8, 1937. War went to Yelagu alone. He held one spear poised in [311] his hand and two others cradled in his left arm. When the Yelagus saw him coming, they all ran away--women, children, etc. One old man stayed behind. [231] [43] He killed a dog and gave it to War and told him that he had nothing to do with Asanampa, that she had run away, and he did not know where she was. War told him to give him some'tambu'too, which he did, and War returned. War carries three spears with him wherever he goes.

342 March 11, 1937. I went to watch them building a bush house (to teach boys--Mar, Kumb, Mas, May, Gwiyap and Mar). It is a little way off on the road to the market on a small mountain. They used saplings for side posts; two center posts and ridge pole were cut. The roof was of marratta, but there were no sides. Spathes were split and two put on at a time. Then two were put on in other directions and all four tied.

000 March 12, 1937. Hayamakwa went to Sowinambi's again. Kumb was breaking ground. Kar was washing sago.

578 March 18, 1937. I came back from the station. Pit has returned. May says he will not fight him because his father said "i no nother pole man". Despite this, however, says May, he would fight him if he wanted to.

754 578 March 21, 1937. Yesterday afternoon Kwalump and a large gang from Wenyembemkura came by. They had been to Sowinambi's for sunga weni. They had spears. Say came to Yat's and told him that the result of the talk of the day was that since there were no Hayamakwa present, it was they who were responsible for poison. Yat grabbed a spear (so he says) and called on Hamsoy to fight, but Hamsoy refused. He came by the house towards dark

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Sowal Urambanja of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent add that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him

Division of Labor

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Women catch fish, make net bags, gather firewood, fetch and carry water.(The latter two occupations are taboo to men, i.e., they are unmanly.) Men make spears and arrows, and wash sago pith.(If a woman washes it and it is then eaten by a man, he will die). Both men and women hunt with bow and arrow and spear, besides doing garden work. In addition women do the cooking.

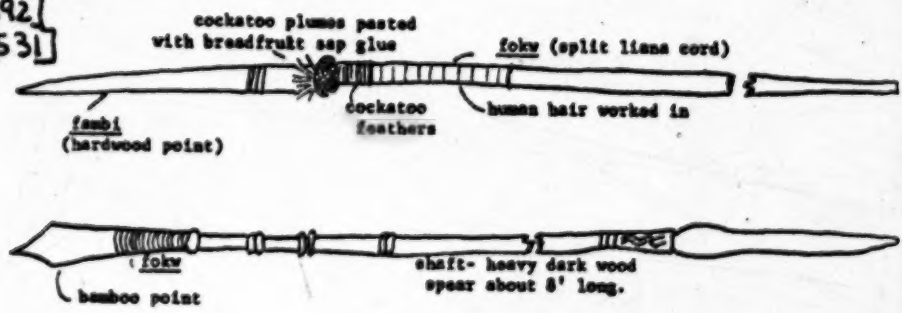
Spears

411 A description of how the spear is thrown appears in the section on pig hunting.

411 Bamboo spear points are used as well as hardwood points. These made
322 from bamboo are frequently found about the house drying. They are made by splitting a large bamboo stalk, one and one half to two inches in diameter. The sides are sprung apart by small pegs to keep the bamboo from shriveling together and to open and flatten it slightly. The section cut contains one node and about two or three inches of a second node which is used at a butt. These sections are put in the peak of the house and dried for several months. They are then sharpened and if not immediately used, are put back with the spreders still intact.

411 The figures below show not only a man hunting spear, but also decorations from some spear handles.

[824] [192] [53]



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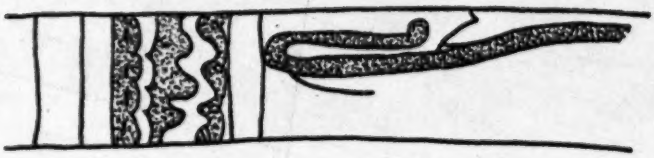

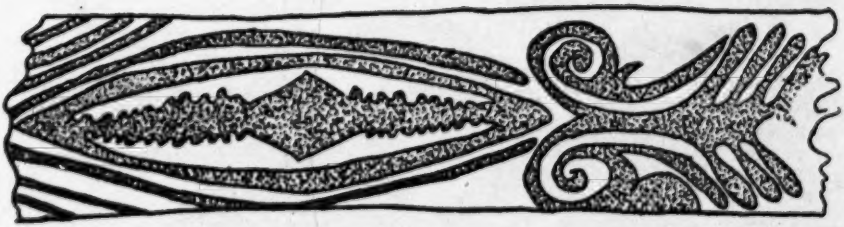

Tracings from spear handles (incised carving)

Bow and arrow

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The bow (aŋ̃ũbə)is tightened by placing the lower point on the ground, while the left hand grasps the top, and the right hand the middle The left knee is then brought to bear against the bow and the fokw (split liana cord) slackens. The arrow is held against the fokw (in the right hand) between thumb and forefinger of the index finger. The palm of the left hand pushes out against the bow. The thumb circles the bow; the index finger arches over the arrow so that the latter rests in the crotch between the thumb and index finger. As the bowstring is drawn taut, the bow is raised until the arrow is just below the level of the eye. The left arm is straightened as the string is drawn back with the right.

Arrows are made from either wood or bamboo shafts. (See figures below).

minjé -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

kwond -- a six foot arrow with bamboo shaft

sawũnjé -- a six foot arrow, all wood